

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 00768 01 OF 02 171715Z
ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 H-03 SS-15 AID-01 NSC-06 /034 W
-----032184 171947Z /45

R 171500Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6773
INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 0768

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGSC UR, US, XF
SUBJECT: SENATOR STEVENSON-ARBATOV MEETING, JANUARY 16

SUMMARY: IN A 90 MINUTE MEETING WITH USA INSTITUTE
DIRECTOR GEORGIY ARBATOV JANUARY 16, SENATOR STEVENSON DIS-
CUSSED AT SOME LENGTH THE QUESTION OF U.S.-SOVIET TRADE
RELATIONS AND IN PARTICULAR THE STEVENSON AMENDMENT. THERE
WERE ALSO BRIEF EXCHANGES ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND ON U.S.-
SOVIET RELATIONS. A SEPARATE CABLE REPORTS ON SALT
DISCUSSION. END SUMMARY.

1. THE MIDDLE EAST: SENATOR STEVENSON OPENED THE DIS-
CUSSION BY SUGGESTING THAT SOME KIND OF FORMALIZATION OF
SOVIET-ISRAELI RELATIONS COULD HAVE A PROFOUND IMPACT ON
THE ATTITUDE OF THE U.S. PUBLIC TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION
OF THE KIND AND NATURE THAT RESULTED FOR EGYPT'S IMAGE
IN THE U.S. FROM THE DRAMATIC INITIATIVES OF PRESIDENT
SADAT. HE REITERATED THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS MISTAKEN
IN BELIEVING THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS BEHIND THE
SADAT MOVES AND SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES HESITATED
AT FIRST BUT BECAUSE OF THE PROFOUND PUBLIC RESPONSE
WHICH SADAT'S INITIATIVES EVOKED IT HAD TO GO ALONG
WITH SADAT AND MAKE THE BEST OF THE SITUATION. THE
SENATOR STILL HAD QUESTIONS ABOUT THE WISDOM OF THE
INITIATIVES AND SAW PROBLEMS AND OBSTACLES ALONG
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 00768 01 OF 02 171715Z

THE WAY WHICH SADAT HAS CHOSEN. FINALLY, HE SAID
THE SOVIETS HAD AN EXAGGERATED OPINION OF THE CONTROL
THAT THE U.S. HAS OVER ISRAEL, PARTICULARLY OVER
BEGIN, AND THAT THIS WAS AFFECTING THEIR OUTLOOK.

2. ARBATOV CLAIMED THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET
UNION AND ISRAEL WOULD HAVE TO COME ABOUT "AS A

PRODUCT" OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, ALTHOUGH NOT NECESSARILY AS A "RESULT" OF THAT CONFERENCE. HENCE, SADAT'S MOVES HAVE NOT MADE NORMALIZATION EASIER SINCE THEY HAVE COMPLICATED THE PROCESS LEADING TO GENEVA.

3. U.S.-SOVIET TRADE: SENATOR STEVENSON MADE THE POINT THAT MOST AMERICAN SWHO ARE INVOLVED AND INTERESTED IN THE TRADE ISSUE ARE INTERESTED IN SEEING U.S.-SOVIET TRADE EXPAND AND DEVELOP AND THAT HE PERSONALLY FELT THAT THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT WHICH MADE A DIRECT LINKAGE BETWEEN TRADE/ CREDITS AND OTHER ISSUES IS A AMISTAKE. NEVERTHELESS, POLITICAL ISSUES, SUCH AS SHCHARANSKIY, THE SOVIET POLICY IN THE HORN OF AFRICA, AND SALT, DO IN FACT HAVE AN EFFECT ON TRADE.

4. HE NOTED THAT HIS OWN AMENDMENT WAS DESIGNED TO GET AROUND THE RESTRICTIONS OF THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT BUT THAT APPARENTLY THIS POINT HAS NOT BEEN UNDERSTOOD IN THE SOVIET UNION WHERE THE STEVENSON AMENDMENT IS LOOKED UPON AS AN ADDITIONAL OBSTACLE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF U.S.-SOVIET TRADE. THE SENATOR THEN EXPLAINED IN DETAIL THE OBJECTIVES BEHIND THE STEVENSON AMENDMENT. IN LIGHT OF THE MAJOR MISCONCEPTION ABOUT THE STEVENSON AMENDMENT IN CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 00768 01 OF 02 171715Z

THE SOVIET UNION HE OFFERED TO SUPPLY A PAPER EXPLAINING THE AMENDMENT. HE FORCEFULLY DENIED THAT THERE ARE EXPLICIT OR IMPLIED CEILINGS ON CREDITS CONTAINED IN THE STEVENSON AMENDMENT. THERE IS ONLY A REQUIREMENT FOR THE EXECUTIVE TO RETURN TO THE CONGRESS FOR AUTHORIZATION OF ADDITIONAL CREDITS.

5. ARBATOV CONCEDED THAT THE AMENDMENT WAS NOT UNDERSTOOD IN THIS WAY BY THE SOVIETS AND ARGUED THAT THERE WERE MANY IN THE UNITED STATES ALSO WHO DID NOT VIEW IT AS AN ATTEMPT TO FACILITATE U.S.-SOVIET TRADE. HE SAID THAT WHILE THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT ALONE WOULD HAVE BEEN SUFFICIENT FOR THE SOVIET SIDE TO DENOUNCE THE TRADE AGREEMENT, THE STEVENSON AMENDMENT PLAYED A PART SINCE IT WAS VIEWED AS AN ADDITIONAL ATTEMPT TO PLACE MORE PRESSURE ON THE USSR.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 00768 02 OF 02 171722Z
ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 H-03 SS-15 AID-01 NSC-06 /034 W
-----032256 171950Z /45

R 171500Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6774
INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 0768

6. U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS: ARBATOV DISCUSSED THE HISTORY OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS IN GENERAL TERMS NOTING THAT THE U.S. IS "VERY DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH" AND THAT THE CONTINUAL UPS AND DOWNS IN OUR RELATIONS "COMPLICATE LIFE FOR THOSE OF US IN THE INSTITUTE." HE ARGUED THAT MANY OF THE ISSUES WHICH WEIGH HEAVILY ON THE RELATIONSHIP (E.G., THE SHCHARANSKIY CASE) ARE IN FACT SIMPLY THE REFLECTION OF DEEPER DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. HE DOUBTED THAT GIVEN THESE DIFFERENCES THAT THE SOVIET SIDE WOULD BE ABLE TO PRODUCE MORE PROGRESS IN THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC AREAS IF THEY WERE SOMEHOW TO SOLVE THE SHCHARANSKIY CASE, SINCE THERE "WOULD BE SOMETHING ELSE THAT WOULD POP UP." THE DEEPER DIFFERENCES HE DESCRIBED AS A BASIC OPPOSITION IN THE U.S. TO WHAT HAS BEEN HAPPENING IN THE SOVIET UNION SINCE THE REVOLUTION IN 1917. HE CLAIMED THAT THERE WERE SOME IN THE UNITED STATES WHO WERE INTERESTED IN THE "BREAK UP" OF THE USSR (HE POINTED TO SUPPORT OF VARIOUS NATIONALITY GROUPS, CITING TURKESTANIS AND SOME UKRAINIAN GROUPS) AND WHO DID NOT "RECOGNIZE THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF OUR COUNTRY." HE ADMITTED THAT THERE WERE SOME CHANGES IN THIS U.S. ATTITUDE IN THE AREA OF U.S.-SOVIET MILITARY RELATIONS. THE MAJOR CHANGE HERE HAD TO DO WITH THE U.S. ACCEPTANCE OF "THE PRINCIPLE OF CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 00768 02 OF 02 171722Z

EQUALITY" ALTHOUGH IT CONTINUED TO BE TRUE THAT SOME ON THE U.S. SIDE WISHED TO BE "MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS."

7. SENATOR STEVENSON RESPONDED THAT THERE ARE MAJOR CHANGES IN THE U.S. ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION ALTHOUGH GIVEN OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, WHICH WE VALUE HIGHLY, THESE CHANGES COME ABOUT SLOWLY AND ARE NOT ALTOGETHER CONSISTENT, BUT THEY ARE NONETHELESS IMPORTANT. AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE CHANGING ATTITUDES HE CITED THE RECOGNITION IN THE UNITED STATES OF THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY WITH RESPECT TO STRATEGIC ARMS AND POINTED OUT THAT THERE ARE SOME WHO ARE EVEN WILLING TO ACCEPT "ADQUACY." THE SENATOR ARGUED FOR ADDITIONAL ATTEMPTS AT MAKING PROGRESS ON SOME OF THE SMALLER ISSUES BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES TO FACILITATE PROGRESS ON THE LARGER AND MORE IMPORTANT ISSUES.
MATLOCK

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CODELS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 17 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978MOSCOW00768
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780025-0216
Format: TEL
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780155/aaaabumi.tel
Line Count: 185
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 2acecfe2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3763133
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SENATOR STEVENSON-ARBATOV MEETING, JANUARY 16 SUMMARY: IN A 90 MINUTE MEETING WITH USA INSTITUTE DIRECTOR GEORGIY ARBATOV JANUARY 16, SENATOR STEVE
TAGS: OREP, UR, US, XF, (STEVENSON, ADLAI E)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/2acecfe2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014